

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 13748 310813Z  
ACTION IO-03

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FOR HELMAN AND DALLEY FROM MAYNES  
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EO 11652:N/A  
TAGS ELAB  
SUBJECT: ILO BRIEFING PAPER FOR ACTING SECRETARY

1. I REALIZE THAT BEFORE DEPARTURE I NEVER SAW A DRAFT OF BRIEFING PAPER ACTING SECRETARY WILL NEED FOR MEETING OF CABINET COMMITTEE ON ILO. FOLLOWING ARE MY THOUGHTS.
2. ACCORDING TO A FAIRLY RELIABLE REPORT, MEANY'S POSTURE IS LIKELY TO BE THAT ILO MEMBERS DID MAKE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS BUT HE IS IN NO HURRY TO RETURN. HE WOULD PREFER TO WAIT TO SEE HOW MEMBERSHIP HANDLES COMPLAINT AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA NEXT YEAR. THE AFL-CIO MAY ALSO ARGUE THAT ONE YEAR OF GOOD RESULTS IS NOT A SUFFICIENT RECORD; THE U.S. WOULD LOOK FOOLISH IF IT RETURNED ONLY TO FIND THAT THE NEXT GENERAL CONFERENCE IN JUNE 1979 REVERSED THE PROGRESS MADE THIS YEAR.
3. I FEEL STRONGLY STATE OUGHT TO SUPPORT RETURN. WITH AFL-CIO'S CONCURRENCE, WE HAVE BEEN TELLING OTHERS WHAT OUR PRIORITIES WERE. WHILE AT AFL-CIO

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INSISTENCE WE HAVE REFUSED TO IDENTIFY A BOTTOM LINE, OUR ALLIES HAVE DELIVERED ON OUR LIST OF PRIORITIES AND I THINK WE MUST ATTEMPT TO RESPOND IN TURN. THE ARGUMENT THAT WE MIGHT BE EMBARRASSED BY A SUBSEQUENT REVERSAL IN PROGRESS IF WE RETURNED AFTER A YEAR IS ALSO TRUE AFTER TWO YEARS OR EVEN THREE AND IS REALLY AN ADMISSION THAT THE POLICY OF LEAVING WAS ILL-

CONCEIVED IN THE FIRST PLACE. MOREOVER, IF THE REVERSAL IN PROGRESS DOES TAKE PLACE, WE HAVE OTHER MORE EFFECTIVE TOOLS AT HAND--THE MOST EXTREME BEING SUSPENSION OF OUR DUE PAYMENTS. FINALLY, IF WE WAIT ANOTHER YEAR, WE WILL LOSE OUR PERMANENT SEAT ON THE GOVERNING BOARD AND WILL BRING ON A RESTRUCTURING OF THE ORGANIZATION WHICH MAY MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR US EVER TO GET BACK IN.

4. AT THE SAME TIME, WE WANT TO AVOID POSITIONING OURSELVES AT THE CABINET MEETING IN TOTAL OPPOSITION TO THE AFL-CIO WHICH WE WILL IF WE RESTRICT OUR PRESENTATION TO THE POINTS LISTED ABOVE. CONSEQUENTLY, I AM ATTRACTED TO THE SUGGESTION THAT WE URGE THE CABINET COMMITTEE, AS PART OF OUR RE-ENTRY STRATEGY, TO GO ON RECORD IN FAVOR OF CONGRESSIONAL RATIFICATION OF SOME OF THE KEY ILO CONVENTIONS--FORCED LABOR, FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION, RIGHT TO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, AND FREEDOM FROM DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT. I WOULD NOT TAKE THE POSTURE THAT WE SHOULD NOT RETURN UNLESS WE RATIFY THESE CONVENTIONS BUT I WOULD ARGUE THAT RATIFICATION WOULD PUT US ON HIGHER GROUND. WE COULD USE THE LARGE NUMBER OF SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN WHO OPPOSED OUR WITHDRAWAL AS THE CORE SUPPORT GROUP OF A RATIFICATION DRIVE.

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5. THESE ARE PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS UNSHAPED BY CONSIDERATIONS THAT MAY SURFACE IN THE DRAFT JOHN MILLS IS PREPARING. I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR CABLING ME THE FINAL DRAFT BEFORE IT GOES FORWARD IF AT ALL POSSIBLE. MANSFIELD

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